

- *192
805
[211]
[823] 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — beküi^v or bekwi^v (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

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[124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.
475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.
476. *Red — chayn. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhuyu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shuyu).
477. *Yellow — chukupiyn. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukupiyn.
478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."
479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lorra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which -coutoume is cognate with -kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakö, wakörä. "Handsome man" — wakör warato moine.
481. Bad, ugly — alwarä.
482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.
483. Hot — iköyin, iköina.
484. Cold — komi^v.
485. Strong — merundä.
486. Weak — apaumun.
487. Sick — ene:(pe)

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Kamarakoto

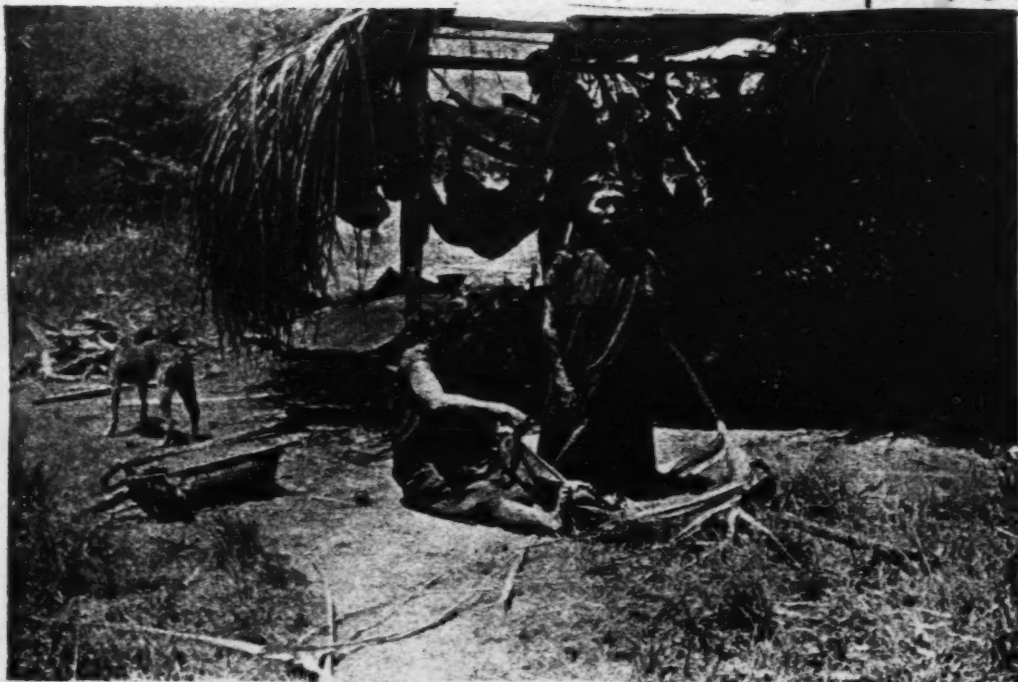


Fig. 31 - Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

147a

291/ but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much. 129

• [22] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red. 130

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage. 131 About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknitting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

[13] Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-akamūi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used
129-131 [see footnote on p 322, category 116 - Ana/yot]

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Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them.

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Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets. 134 These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

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Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichi?, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

• [22]

The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okōi-yeupā ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

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The yaichi? is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichi?. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichi? in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]
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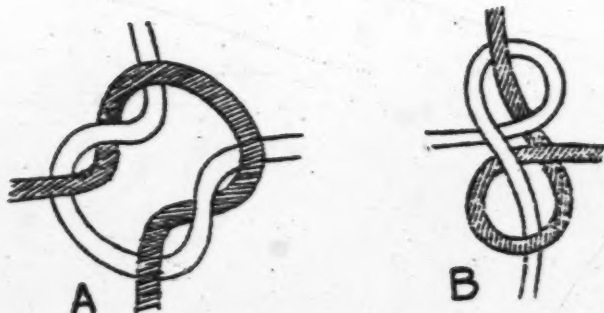


Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.

A, B. the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crostie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it
[822] does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepānes obtain
[439] brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with vari-colored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

[178] The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid of a single hooked needle.¹⁴⁴ This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalifnas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such
144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles, and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties. 172

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
 776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still
 others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent
 a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality
 or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
 771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
 778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially
 indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion,
 which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific
 aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
 781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
 822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general any-
 thing that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal
 and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear
 of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
 754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and
 remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless
 exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in
 averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is
 that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
 [274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache
 makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thorough-
 ly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants
 have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with
 the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
 [352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
 [332] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponot?, being higher and carved
 into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves
 and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.¹⁷⁴ Soon the piache is
 surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them
 but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the
kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to
 the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply
 is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days.
 If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well
 cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
 [824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
 [361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

¹⁷⁴ [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]